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18 May, 1905.

NATIVES UNDER THE TRANSVAAL FLAG.

LANDING JETTY, DELAGOA BAY.

NATIVES UNDER THE TRANSVAAL FLAG.

BY

THE REV. JOHN H. BOVILL,

RECTOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH, LOURENÇO MARQUES,
SOMETIME H.B.M. ACTING CONSUL,
LOURENÇO MARQUES.

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RESPECTFULLY

Dedicated to

THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM EDMUND

LORD BISHOP OF LEBOMBO,

WITH WHOM I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO WORK

FOR OVER FIVE YEARS,

AND WHOSE LABOUR OF LOVE FOR THE WELFARE OF

THE COUNTLESS INDIGENOUS RACES IS WELL KNOWN.

PREFACE.

THE extracts from the Native Pass Law and the Native Liquor Law are taken from the Transvaal Commercial Guide and Handbook by Mr. Geo. Dunbar.

The quotations from the Transvaal Grondwet and the London Convention are from the translation by Mr. Papenfus.

Two photographs of Lourenço Marques are by Mr. Lee, of that town.

To each of these the Author acknowledges his indebtedness.

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ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.

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The MARQUIS OF SALISBURY said:

"With regard to the future there must be no doubt that the Sovereign Power of England is paramount; there must be no doubt that the white races will be put upon an equality, and that *due precaution will be taken for the philanthropic and kindly improving treatment of those countless indigenous races, of whose destiny I fear we have been too forgetful.* ('Hear, hear.') Those things must be insisted upon in the future."—Extract from a Speech in the House of Lords, *Times*, October 18th, 1899.

The BISHOP OF ST. JOHN'S, KAFFRARIA, writes:

"It may be, I cannot but feel, a holy war. Many as our sins and shortcomings may be, it is a war resting on the broad question, Are these natives of South Africa to be looked upon as beasts of burden or human beings?"

INTRODUCTION.

ANOTHER book on the Transvaal! Why?

Since coming to England I have found that most people have little or no idea of anything respecting the condition of the native races in the Transvaal.

To throw a little light on this subject at the present moment would no doubt be appreciated by a large number. For the last five years I have worked in South Africa, in a district from which a large number of natives are drawn for work in the Transvaal, and I have gone to the Transvaal from time to time, and have seen the natives on the mines living and working under different conditions to those to which they have been accustomed in their kraals.

I have been able to view the native question from the native's point of view as well as from the Boer's. I am well acquainted with Boers of all

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classes, members of the Volksraad, commandants, and the average Boer, but in each and all (with only one or two exceptions) their prejudices will not allow them to give the natives even bare justice.

The questions I deal with are but elementary. The natives are not asking for a Franchise law or anything pertaining to a voice in the Government of the land, but merely asking for laws to regulate the civil life of their community. The will of the Native Location Superintendent, or of the Executive, or of anyone appointed by them is the Transvaal Native Law at present.

Article 9 of the Grondwet is not only adhered to, but is exaggerated in its application, viz. :— "The people shall not permit any equality of coloured persons with white inhabitants, neither in the Church, nor in the State." This to an ordinary Boer means that the natives shall not be permitted to have an acknowledged civil status in the Transvaal.

(1) He must not own fixed property.

(2) He must not marry by civil or ecclesiastical process.

(3) He must not be allowed access to civil courts in any action against a white man.

These three principles are so firmly fixed in the

mind of an average Boer that we can never expect to see anything done by the Volksraad for the natives in these particulars. In Natal we have laws for the natives, founded more or less on native customs, stipulating for and regulating the civil status of the natives in that Colony. Why the Transvaal cannot or will not formulate a similar code of laws it is difficult to understand, unless it be prejudice or interest.

It appears inconceivable that a Government making any pretence of being a civilised power, at the end of the nineteenth century, should be so completely ignorant of the most elementary principles of good government for such a large number of its subjects.

Three years ago, when rinderpest and famine were rampant in the north-east portion of the Transvaal, I was in that district for two months, just after my first attack of Delagoa Bay fever. I met several Boer officials and talked with them respecting the state of the natives in that part of the Transvaal. Each of them seemed to look at it from one point only, and that was how they could profit financially by it. Subscriptions were raised in Johannesburg for the purchase of mealies, etc., to be given to the starving natives. The Government at Pretoria sent food-stuffs for them,

many private firms contributing, and yet the natives declare that the Government officials *sold* the food at exorbitant prices! Personally, from my experience amongst the Boers at that time, I can believe the native reports.

A Landdrost, whom I know well, taking advantage of the famine, discharged all his natives who were getting £3 a month, and sent a labour agent to get them replaced by natives from the famine district for 10*s.* a month. If they had been engaged in an honest and fair manner, no one could complain, but to get them by refusing them food, or by placing prohibitive prices on the food sent to relieve them is not at all honest.

Moreover, they consented to work on the usual terms, and the labour agent said he would arrange terms when they saw the Landdrost. They came six days' journey to the Landdrost, and were offered 10*s.* a month, and if they did not take it they had to refund the cost of bringing them, for which 30*s.* was claimed from each. They were without money or food, and so had to accept any terms.

When a native once accepts work from a Boer he is practically bound to remain with him, unless his master wishes to release him. Runaway servants are lashed.

The present chaotic state of the Transvaal natives is due to want of recognition by law of the elementary principles governing life and property.

How the Pretorian Government has regarded the clauses in the Convention respecting the native races in the Transvaal may prove instructive reading. That the 19th Clause has not been observed, as it was intended, for the "betterment" of the natives in the Transvaal, is very apparent.

The Native Liquor Law is the only good piece of legislation done for the native, but still the stubborn and insane disregard for native marriage laws and customs prevails in official as well as in unofficial circles. The "coloured person" of any nationality, the coloured "Cape boy" whose intelligence and education is equal to that of the average Boer, is denied the civil rights of marriage, because he is "coloured." This premium put on vice is a constant source of trouble among the coloured population of the Transvaal.

The Native Labour Question, too, is one which affects a very large number of people, both white and black.

If the Industry is hampered and hindered by useless restrictions affecting the liberty of the greater bulk of its labourers, and of all the

unskilled labour, it must greatly affect its development.

The Mining on the Rand is a settled Industry and will last for a great many years. To get settled and regular labourers causes, at present, the greatest anxiety to those who are responsible to the shareholders of the mines. Labourers ought not to be scarce, and would not be, if a native could only feel that he had not to sacrifice every vestige of liberty. I do not mean to say that a native is fond of work for the work's sake, any more than is any white man. He works on the mines because he likes the money paid him. What I do assert is, that if he were not so hampered by Boer officialism, he would remain on the Rand for a much longer time than he does at present. Those who are interested in the Mining Industry would do well to bear this in mind, before the settlement of Rand affairs are entered upon by our Government. So far the Mining Industry has been to the Transvaal Government the hen that has laid the golden eggs. That Government has kept it penned up, endeavoured to cripple it, stolen the eggs; and now that many Boers have well replenished themselves, and waxed fat, with hands upheld sanctimoniously call it the "curse of the country."

Leave them alone to follow their "peaceful pursuits" say some of our wiseacres, who have never seen Africa or a Boer. Of course we all agree with such a sentiment, although their "peaceful pursuits" when followed amount to about that followed by a third rate squatter of some twenty morgen. It is only when those "peaceful pursuits" are left, and the squatter tries his hand at legislating against his "brother" that we object. If he would only go back to his "peaceful pursuits" and "pastoral life" "my brother Boer" would be left alone. Their capabilities as farmers far exceed their capabilities as legislators for either black or white.

But now we find ourselves at war with this Transvaal State. "Do you think our cause is a just one?" has been asked of me many times. My invariable answer is, that I do.

For three reasons :—

(1) Their unwarranted oppression of all Europeans.

(2) The undue taxation of British and Foreign capital to arm themselves, and to supply arms to the political Africander Bond—amongst whom are many Dutch British subjects—to arm the Orange Free State, and to endeavour to drive British supremacy out of South Africa.

(3) Their total incompetency to govern the coloured races on humane principles.

(1) It is scarcely three years ago since every European was ordered to take out his pass, similar to that of a native, in spite of Article 14 of the London Convention. It was only when our Government threatened to take extreme measures for a breach of the Convention that they agreed to withdraw the operation of this law. If South Africa should become under Boer rule, this law will be once again in operation, and Englishmen especially will be treated with scant courtesy under the provisions of the pass law system.

(2) That the Mining Industry was exorbitantly taxed over and above what was required for legitimate purposes is only too apparent in our present conflict with the Boers. Arms and ammunition have been served out without stint all over the Free State and parts of Cape Colony. The schemes of the Africander Bond for a United South Africa, under Dutch supremacy, have been practically developed by the taxation of the Mining Industry. Every day brings fresh evidence of this fact.

(3) Of their incompetence to govern the natives of South Africa, or any "coloured people" on humane principles, you will be able to judge for yourself after reading these pages.

If ever a war could be justified it is the one we are at present engaged in.

England might have left the Mining Industry to have taken care of itself, yet the war would have taken place. She might have closed her eyes to the injustice and oppression of her subjects, the injustice would have been aggravated, and the oppression increased, until the Africander Bond had ousted British supremacy from South Africa.

We have now to reconquer parts of our Colony as well as the Free State and the Transvaal. Can anyone doubt but that the scheme was to get Africa for the Africander? No one who knows the Dutch politician can doubt it.

More than once have I seen in Lourenço Marques, the Dutch hero of Dundee—a political factionist and Boer Commandant—at dinner propose the toast, "The prosperity of United South Africa." He thought he was *slim*,* but all present were not "verneuked"† by him. The seriousness of the situation was well known over twelve months ago in South Africa, if not in England. Kruger is but a figure-head in the great scheme. The British demands for justice, or the massing of troops more than 100 miles from the border of the Transvaal

---

* Slim = sly, cunning. † Verneuked = cheated.

were only used as pretexts to carry out the scheme before we were prepared to offer much resistance.

To think that the present war is over political rights and the Franchise law is to make a very serious blunder. Granting it was so, our cause would be just; and tenfold more so is it just, when the object of the enemy is to supplant British supremacy by that of a half-civilised Dutch rule.

A CARGO OF NATIVES GOING OFF FROM THE SHORE AT INHAMBANE TO JOHANNESBURG.

THE LONDON CONVENTION.

"THE Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent:—

"(1) As to the freedom of the natives to buy and otherwise acquire land under certain conditions;

"(2) As to the appointment of a Commission to mark out native locations;

"(3) As to the access of the natives to the Courts of law; and

"(4) As to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system."

Thus reads Article 19 of the London Convention, and it is my object to point out how far the South African Republic has failed to fulfil the

assurances given. One would have taken it for granted that any Government would have been anxious to do its best to legislate for the well-being of such a large number of its subjects. To provide wise and just laws for the building up of a nation is surely the first function of a good government. The more varied the character and races of the people in the State, the greater may be the difficulties in legislating wisely; but they are not insurmountable. To legislate for the civil life of one race of its subjects, and to brand the rest as criminals, whom it refuses to regard as forming any part of its corporate life, is to follow a suicidal legislation, and can only tend to its own destruction.

What would have become of us in our Indian Empire and our Colonies if we did not maintain the laws relating to property and marriage? To assert that any race of mankind is of too low a type to be permitted any civil rights, such as to the holding of property, or to marriage laws, is to stamp the individual or State as incapable of admitting the first and elementary principles of social life, without which no nation or community can effectively be established. A proof of the Boers' incapability to rule is in their withholding these elementary principles. "A few Mauser bullets is

the best way of legislating for the natives" is the usual answer one gets from the Boers when speaking to them on this question. Candid, but brutal, and a proof of their invincible ignorance of the elements of good government

It is plain to anyone knowing the Boer treatment of the natives that these four points were the minimum that any humane Government could insist upon being carried out before it handed over to them the native tribes. It was generally expressed that the Boers did not intend "faithfully to fulfil the assurances." Time has proved that the expression was not far wrong.

(1) As to the freedom of the natives to buy and otherwise acquire land under certain conditions.

It is well to notice "under certain conditions" and to learn how the Boer drives a carriage and pair, or to use a Boer simile, a span of oxen and a wagon, through them. The "conditions," of course, refer to the Pitso of Pretoria, but it pleases the Boer to feign ignorance of anything he regards as outside the Convention.

To state the case simply. Suppose a native wishes to buy a piece of land outside the native Reserve, he cannot legally purchase it. He must get some white man to buy it in his (the white man's) name. Supposing it cost

£100 when purchased, during the next twelve months or so the price of land in that part may have gone up considerably, owing probably to the extension of the town, or to some mine sprung up in the vicinity, or for some other reason. The white man is offered £500 for it, and without consulting the native the land is sold, and lucky is the native if he gets the £100 he invested, to say nothing of the £400 profit. Of course the native is legally unknown and has no remedy at law. I should be sorry to say that this was the rule, for I know of many honourable and noble cases where the "baas" has profitably invested the boy's savings, and to encourage his thrift has added "tips" from time to time, and before leaving the country has handed over with evident pleasure all the principal and interest.

Nor yet would I have you to believe it is a general experience, for whatever may be the vices of white men, the above is not one of general occurrence. It puts the native, however, at the mercy of the unscrupulous, and in the Transvaal with its cosmopolitan crowd of all sorts and conditions of men, the unscrupulous are not absent. Supposing the native wishes to buy a little property in the Native Reserve. "Under certain conditions" then means, that it must be

bought and held in trust for him by the Native Location Commission. I have asked natives why they do not do this, and the answer was: "Because the Boers would soon get it back from me. On the slightest provocation I should be brought before the 'baas' (meaning the Superintendent of the Native Location) and he would fine me, and I should lose it all, as he knows that I could only pay the fine that way, and if I paid him otherwise, it would give him a chance of making me pay fines again and again until he had *eaten me up*."

I remember a case of a native possessing a cow, to which his "baas" took a fancy, and tried to get the native to exchange it for a much inferior one. The native would not do it, so the Boer waited for his opportunity. He had not long to wait. It happened this way: The Boers "trek" from their farms on the high veldt in the winter to the middle veldt to find grass for their sheep and cattle. The middle veldt is better watered than the high veldt and the climate warmer. The native was sent on in charge of the cattle, the Boer, his vrouw, and some of the family followed in the bullock wagon. A young son of the Boer's and a son of the native, about the same age, drove the sheep some miles in the rear. After three or four days' walking, one of the sheep be-

came lame, and fell out as sheep do when in a bad condition and overwalked. The Boer's son said he would kill it and have it cooked. So it was killed, cooked, and eaten before they reached the middle veldt. The Boer found out that one was missing, and was told that it fell sick and was left behind on the veldt. He found out afterwards that it had been killed and eaten by the two boys. He then went to the native in a great rage and demanded the cow in payment for the sheep. The native demurred and said that both boys were equally guilty, but he would pay for the sheep. However, the Boer had made up his mind to have the cow, so he had it brought over to his cattle kraal, and the native boy was taken to the Landdrost (magistrate) and charged with stealing a sheep. He was imprisoned for six months, and the native's father was fined the cow and costs. Such is a sample of the protection a native has for his property "under certain conditions."

This stipulation can be dismissed as not only of no practical good to the native, but as being positively harmful to him. Unless he has absolutely the same protection for his property as the white man has for his, it will always be in a state of insecurity whether it be fixed or movable property. The very fact of this article being part of the

Convention would make the Boer more determined not to give the native the privileges specified, and to seek all subterfuges and evasions of it, as they have of other Articles of the Convention.

(2) As to the appointment of a Commission to mark out native locations:

The native locations question will always be one of friction between the Boer Government and the natives.

(*a*) Because each burgher on attaining his majority looks to the State to provide him with 3,000 morgens (6,000 acres) of land, for the cost of survey and transfer fees only. Not that he always gets it, but such is the provision in the Grondwet (Article 7) for the disposal of the declared property of the State. From a burgher's point of view, it is most unfair that the native should be allowed to occupy the land which rightly belongs to him!

(*b*) The native races are not effete, there are no signs of their dying out, but very much the reverse. The time will shortly come when the restrictions to a limited area will become very irksome to them, and with the growth of the native population, an extension of reserve necessary. What will be the result of these two forces? It takes no very prophetic person to say; for the effect of these two forces is already apparent, in the brutality

of the young Boers to the native, and the indelible hatred of the native to the young Boer.

The native location or reserves is a very primitive way of dealing with one race of your subjects, but scarcely an effectual way of doing anything else beyond putting off the evil day. The longer it is left unsolved the greater will be the difficulties to face. The Transvaal law prohibits more than five native families living on one farm, so that there is no opening for the overflow in the reserves unless this is altered. Why a Boer with 6,000 acres of land cannot have more than five families on his land is incomprehensible. He certainly only cultivates 20 or 30 acres of it as a rule, the rest is grazing land. Under the present condition of things, a native is not over anxious to live on a farm because his comparative isolation may lay him open to petty tyranny by any officious individual with regard to the intricate pass laws, to say nothing of a vicious "baas" who dare not settle his grievances with his vrouw, but deals out fivefold to the unfortunate native whom he first comes across that which he dare not deal to her for fear of retaliation. "Lex talionis" is a law which a Boer vrouw understands to perfection. However, native locations have been allotted and marked out in the north-east of the Transvaal so that this

part of Article 19 has been fulfilled to some extent.

(3) As to the access of the natives to the Courts of Law.

If you ask a native he will tell you that access to the Courts of Law is much too easy, but they are the Criminal Courts of the Field Cornets and Landdrosts. He suffers so much from these, that he cannot entertain the idea that the Higher Courts are any better than the ordinary Field Cornets' or Landdrosts'. However, there are times when with fear and trepidation he does appeal to a Higher Court. With what result? If the decision is in favour of the native, the burghers are up in arms, crying out against the injustice of a judgment given in favour of a black against a white man; burghers sigh and say that a great disaster is about to befall the State when a native can have judgment against a white man. The inequality of the blacks and superiority of the whites (burghers) is largely discussed. Motions are brought forward in the Volksraad to prohibit natives pleading in the Higher Courts. Such is the usual outcry. Summary justice (?) by a Landdrost or Field Cornet is all the Boer would allow a native. No appeal should be permitted, for may it not lead to a quashing of the conviction? The Field Cornet

or Landdrost is his friend, and he can always "square" him in a matter against a native. It was only to prevent an open breach with England that in a limited way these appeals to the Higher Courts were tolerated.

Under the next section (4) of this Article you will notice what easy access the natives have to the Courts.

(4) As to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

This reads very well, and to anyone not well acquainted with the pass system it would appear to be no hardship to a native. But, alas, it has been and is a system under which organised extortion and robbery of the most flagrant kind has been pursued. Absolute power is placed in the hands of any burgher, policeman, or official of the State, to stop any native, especially a native coming home from working on the Rand, and enquire for his pass. Their passes are demanded by any Boer who meets them, they are questioned even if their passes are in order, and often threatened to have their passes torn up if they do not give them a gift.

A native is not allowed to leave his abode without first being provided with a pass, giving his

name, date of issue, his employer's name, and any distinctive mark about him. If he is carrying anything, or in charge of anything it must also be specified on the pass.

Three natives were sent with oxen and wagon to meet me at a railway station in the Transvaal and were duly provided with a pass. On my arrival we started on the return journey which would take four days. On the Saturday we "outspanned" until the Monday (as Transvaal law forbids ox wagons trekking on Sundays, although you may travel by horse and trap on that day) and on the Sunday morning, one of the natives asked me if he might go and join some native Christians who were holding a service in a kraal not far away from the wagon. I gave him permission to go, but on his way he was met by a policeman who asked him for his pass. The native pointed to the wagon and said that his pass was there, as it was for the three of them, the oxen and wagon. In spite of his explanation he was taken off to the Field Cornet, and charged with being at large without a pass. He was locked up in an outhouse until Monday morning, questioned by the Field Cornet and fined £1 or 20 lashes. He asked to be allowed to go to the wagon with the policeman and get the money, but was told

that he would not be permitted, so he had to take the 20 lashes.

It is not an uncommon occurrence to see natives stopped in the streets and asked to produce their passes. Perhaps there is not any more lucrative way of getting a dishonest living than examining native passes. Any policeman may stop a native and demand to see his pass. The pass having been produced, the officer holds it, and questions the boy to find out what he has in his pocket, and if his clothes are at all decent, he is asked to produce his receipt as having bought his clothes from an outfitter. Should the boy fail to produce this, he is then threatened to be taken to the "tronk" as having no pass, if he does not give the policeman 10*s.* or whatever he demands. Invariably the native gives the money demanded, if he has got it. One day I was walking along Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, when I saw a native running as fast as he could, followed at some distance by a policeman. The native whom I recognised to be a boy I knew came running up to me and clung to me for protection very much agitated. The policeman evidently taking in the situation turned off at a right angle and went down another street. It was some time before I could make anything of the boy's story, he seemed so

scared, and powerless to speak, but it turned out to be that the policeman had demanded his pass, which he produced, and then demanded money from him, and as he had none the policeman tore up his pass, and was taking him to "tronk" when he ran away and was pursued by the policeman. Englishmen have found out long ago that it is of no use making complaints against the Zarps,* as they are called. There is no redress, and a Dutchman's word is worth that of a dozen Englishmen in Johannesburg.

Another case is a sample of a different kind. An Englishman wished to send one of his natives an errand after 9 o'clock in the evening, when all natives are supposed to be in the house. The master of course had to write the special pass for after 9 o'clock, if he allows his boy to be out, or sends him out after that hour. Native boys in South Africa take such names as Sixpence, Shilling, Tickie, Klaas, Sam, Tom, Jack, and names of like kind, but if the native should have any bodily infirmity or distinctive mark he is generally called by some name indicating that infirmity or mark such as "Boss-eye," "Bung-eye," etc.

It so happened one evening that Mr. ——— wished to send a letter round to his friend living

* ZARP = Zuid (South) African Republic Police.

about five minutes' walk from his own house. He wrote the letter, and also a pass for his boy, Bung-eye, whom he intended to send with it. On calling for Bung-eye, he found he was busy, so he sent Tickie, giving him the letter and the pass, not thinking at the time about altering the name, and the native could not read. All went well until Tickie was on his way back, when he was stopped by a policeman and his special pass demanded. Then his ordinary pass was asked for, and on comparing the two, the policeman found out that the names did not agree, besides, the boy was not bung-eyed. "You must come to tronk," says the policeman, "this pass is not yours, you are not Bung-eye." The boy then realised that his "baas" had made a mistake, and began to explain. The policeman only laughed and said, "you must come to tronk." The boy bolted and reached home in safety, and told his "baas" what had happened. The "baas" muttered imprecations against Boers and Boer laws, but it would have meant £2 in fines and costs to the native, if he had been brought before the Landdrost, or probably the making of a criminal of him, if the fine was not paid.

Besides having an ordinary pass if a native travels by rail he must buy a travelling pass for which he pays 1*s*.

Pretoria Railway Station is the hotbed of an iniquitous system of swindling. Thousands of natives pass through this station every month on their way back to the Eastern portions of the Transvaal, and also to Delagoa Bay and the East Coast. The natives have saved some money and this is the opportunity to fleece them under the pretence of carrying out the law. All natives are ordered out of the train at this station, and are taken into a place over which the Transvaal flag flies, and which the natives know as "Government House." They are then examined: first as to their passes; secondly, their vaccination papers. Then they are passed on to make a purchase. Sixpenny knives are sold for 10*s.*, sixpenny briar pipes for 10*s.*, and so on—for the "Government," so the natives understand—and all must purchase. This is done by the officials in the Transvaal under the eyes of the Government.

Against this pass system I lay two grave charges which can be proved up to the hilt:—

First: That it is a criminal-making system.

Secondly: That it lends itself as a cover to various kinds of extortion and injustice by burghers and officials against the natives.

First, that it is a criminal-making system in its workings is very evident. No native can leave his

abode without a pass, even to go a few miles. The pass must be in perfect order as to date, description, etc. Any discrepancies are punishable by law. The native is fined, and in case of non-payment he is committed to gaol as a criminal.

Any inhabitant of a Transvaal town and of Johannesburg in particular knows well of the great number of cases:—

Jantye, for being without a pass, fined £2 or one month's imprisonment;

Tom, fined £3 or six weeks, for being without a pass, and attempting to escape from custody;

Sixpence, fined £5 or two months for being without a pass and resisting the police;

Sam, fined £2 for being without a pass, and £3 and 20 lashes for assaulting the police;

and so on of almost daily occurrence. If this does not tend to make criminals I would ask what would? It is the outcome of a system which is as unjust in its principle, as it is pernicious in its working.

My second charge against this system is evident from the cases I have cited above as samples of what occurs every day. The native is legitimate prey for burgher or official. To put it into Boer

official reasoning, "We only get £6 a month, and how can we live if we cannot 'make' something?" This pass system gives them the opportunity, and they never miss it. "My poorly-paid officials" is often a phrase used by the President, but whilst he was secretly swindling the mining industry by extra taxes for war ammunition and secret service expenses, his "poorly paid officials" were secretly (?) engaged in swindling the natives to supplement the poor pay of the State.

After five years' work amongst natives in South Africa, both in town and country, I ask a pertinent question, viz., what need is there of a pass law? My impression on first arriving in Africa was directly in favour of the pass system, as a safeguard against lazy and vicious natives prowling about, and the nine o'clock Curfew system I thought extremely admirable. But like first impressions they are often erroneous, and the old saying, "experientia docet" proves itself to be an infallible rule all the world over.

I must protest against first impressions being accepted as a conclusive proof either for or against. I frequently meet people who give me samples of first impressions. "I have had a letter from my daughter who went out to Africa two months ago, and she says the natives out there are very bad.

They steal, tell lies, and are always drunk." Quite true. Possibly the house boy may be such a character, and probably he is the only native she knows after a month's residence out there, yet all natives are branded by her as bad characters, because the only house boy she knows is such. Should we not think that a person had a tendency to imbecility if a charge was brought against the English nation of being a nation of murderers, thieves, and drunkards, because we have a few of such in our midst?

Another writes home after four months, "The natives out here are very good and kind-hearted. I can leave my children for two or three hours with my 'boy' with perfect confidence. He is so kind to them, and they have taken to him so quickly. It is a blessing." This again may be perfectly true, but it cannot be regarded as anything beyond what it is, viz., information respecting her own native "boy" and not a proof of the good qualities of any native race in particular.

Perhaps in the next few years each of those people I have mentioned may have reason for altering their opinion, but probably it will only be an opinion borne of experience with house boys, much as French matrons may form their opinion of the English people in general, from their

acquaintance with domestic servants in their employ at various times.

We must go further afield than this if we wish to form a legitimate opinion on the native question in its different bearings. The "raw" native in his kraal, the native in and around the towns, the sophisticated native who has picked up the vices, in preference to the virtues, of the whites, the unsophisticated native who has not often seen a white man, the partly educated or school native, the Christian native, all taken together, make the question of the general character a very complex one.

When dealing with the general character of the native races, we must always take into consideration their condition in respect to our civilisation.

To summarise generally: a "raw" native is usually a gentleman in his dealings with white men, and is law abiding. Natives chiefly around towns are in various conditions, the greater part being respectable and law abiding, but some of the worst types of the sophisticated natives are found. Among the educated or school natives are found the stamp of character that one would expect to find where secular education is given without Christian teaching. Clever, sharp, and full of resource for good or evil as it may serve their purpose, would be a very general summary of their character.

The Christian native has a very difficult position to maintain in South Africa. All the misdeeds of the sophisticated and educated natives are placed to his account, as well as his own misdeeds, by the indiscriminating public, who never pause to consider the difference between an educated and a Christian native. However, my point is, that the character of the native Christian, as a rule, is one of good behaviour and law abiding.

Judging, therefore, the general character of the native from these standpoints, I ask, what need is there of pass laws? Cannot police supervision be made effective enough, at little or no further cost, and this criminal-making system abolished?

In the Portuguese territory we have no pass system, yet we have nothing like the number of native criminals they have in the Transvaal where this iniquitous system is so intricate that few natives escape the meshes of the law.

I have for the past five years gone about the town and suburbs of Lourenço Marques (Delagoa Bay) at all times of the day and night, and have never been molested by any native, and I can say further, that during this time I have never heard of any white man being molested by day or night by the natives in and around the town. And that in spite of the fact that there is no prohibition to

the supply of liquor to natives in Portuguese territory, and that drunkenness is prevalent among them. Yet with a Native Prohibition Liquor Law a pass system of a most intricate kind is in vogue in the Transvaal.

Can one have any doubt as to the reason this system is upheld? If public safety does not demand it, then the only reason for its existence is to gratify the ever-increasing lust and greed for wealth, that is so inherent in the Boer character, and which has so largely developed since gold was found in the Transvaal.

Is it too much to hope that, at the downfall of the present so-called Republic, we shall see the downfall of this pernicious pass system?

If our Government thoroughly grasp the uselessness of this system, I am quite sure we shall see the end of it.

A PEACEFUL TONGA VILLAGE NEAR INHAMBANE.

II.—THE NATIVE LIQUOR LAW.

ONE good piece of legislation for the "betterment" of the native has been done by the Transvaal Volksraad of recent years by the passing of the Native Liquor Law (No. 13, 1897).

For some time on the Rand this question had been assuming immense proportions, the natives being uncontrollable under the influence of drink, and on Sundays their time was spent in drinking and quarrelling. Frequently armed police have had to be called in to quell disturbances. Often on Mondays large numbers were unfit for their work on the mines, causing great disorganisation to the work. Many times it was urged on the Volksraad and the executive, by responsible persons, to take some steps in the matter. The Johannesburg *Star* had columns of evidence gathered at first hand on the mines. Managers of mines were interviewed, and were unanimous in supporting a prohibitive liquor law for the natives on the

Rand, and still it was refused. However the evil grew to such dimensions, and assumed such a threatening form that something had to be done, and the Native Liquor Law was passed.

By Article 31 of the Liquor Law, No. 13, 1897: "A native found in possession of wine, spirituous, or malt liquors, except when conveying the said wine, spirituous, or malt liquors in the service of his master, will be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour; he will also be liable to receive lashes, not exceeding twenty-five in number. The liquor found in his possession will be confiscated for the benefit of the public treasury."

By Article 5: "No one shall be permitted or give in exchange to any 'coloured person' any wine, spirituous, or malt liquors. Anyone contravening this article shall be liable to punishment. The words 'coloured person' shall mean every African or Asiatic, native, or coloured American person, coolie or Chinese, male or female."

Article 6 stipulates the penalty for giving or buying, for or on behalf of coloured people, of wine, intoxicating or malt liquor, including Kaffir beer, on mining areas under Government control. Anyone violating the stipulations of this article shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding £500, or

imprisonment, with or without hard labour not exceeding one year.

This would be a really excellent thing, if the fine was not so excessive. One year's imprisonment is not in proportion to the fine of £500. It over-reaches itself, and counteracts the good it would otherwise do. The native buyer's full penalty is three months' imprisonment, and a liability to receive lashes not exceeding twenty-five. And to prosecute the matter thoroughly, so that no illicit dealer shall easily escape, after having intoxicated the native, Article 49 asserts that "Public Prosecutors of the various Courts shall be bound in all cases where natives are charged with drunkenness, to institute a most searching inquiry into the cause of the drunkenness and the place where, and the person by whom the liquor was supplied, in order to institute a prosecution against the person for unlawful dealing in spirituous liquors. Should the native charged with drunkenness refuse to divulge the name of the person who supplied him with liquor, or to point out the place where he procured such liquor he shall be sentenced to a fine not exceeding £5 or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding one month, and with or without lashes, not exceeding twenty-five in number."

There may be differences of opinion respecting the lashes which enter so largely into all native penalties, but there can be nothing but admiration for the real attempt to wipe out the illicit liquor trade. If a downright honest attempt is made to carry out this law, and the officials are not so hopelessly corrupt as some of the officers appointed under the Morality Law were proved to be, viz., levying monthly taxes for themselves from immoral house keepers, and so make enormous monthly gains, instead of reporting such houses, we shall soon see the cases reduced to a minimum. Why are Boer officials so hopelessly corrupt that they have no respect even for their own laws? As I remarked about the pass laws, it is greed and lust for gain.

Spirituous liquor of any kind is very detrimental to the native, and the cause of unrest, but tenfold more so is the bad liquor supplied. It makes them raving mad. I well remember, before the passing of the Native Liquor Laws, waiting in Johannesburg Cemetery for a funeral. I was talking to the Cemetery Superintendent, when a native messenger brought a notice of interment from the Mortuary. "Drink again," was the Superintendent's remark, as he folded up the notice. "Several of these every week—the cursed

stuff burns their insides, and they never recover after a drinking bout."

To anyone acquainted with the native question, this liquor law was received with delight, and hopes were entertained that other laws for the well-being of the native might be soon passed by the Volksraad. But, alas, no! They regarded this law not so much for the "betterment of the native," but as a necessary one to avert what then appeared to be, and what would soon have become, a very serious native question—the management of the hordes of drunken natives on the Rand, and other mining centres.

But whatever may have been the primary cause, its effect is very wholesome. The spirituous liquor is not a native drink, but is manufactured in various parts of South Africa, and is of the vilest kind. Methylated spirits as a drink is much superior to the Cape Smoke and Delagoa Bay rum frequently sold.

We can only hope and trust that under the new régime, which we hope will soon be established in Pretoria, this native liquor law will continue, and be properly administered. Under the article in this book, "Native Labour—How Procured," this drink question is seen from another and appalling side in the Portuguese territory, where there is no Prohibitive Liquor Law.

A short résumé of the Law affecting natives in Natal will not be out of place, and will show the difference between the Natal legislation and that of the Transvaal.

In Law No. 22, 1878, to prohibit the sale and disposal of spirits and other intoxicating liquor to persons of the native races,

Article 2 reads, "On and after the coming in force of this law, no person shall within this Colony sell, barter, or otherwise supply to a native any brandy, gin, rum, or other spirituous liquors, or any wine, or any ale, beer, or porter, or any fermented liquor of an intoxicating nature, or any mixed liquor containing any intoxicating, spirituous, or fermented liquors."

Article 3 stipulates the penalties:—

For the first offence, a fine of any sum not exceeding £10, or in default of payment, imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding three months. For a second offence, a fine not exceeding £15, or in default, imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding six months. For a third or subsequent offence, a fine not exceeding £20, or in default of payment, imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding nine months.

"Provided always that no such penalty shall be recoverable for supplying any spirituous liquor to any native in case it shall be satisfactorily proved that any such liquor so supplied was administered medicinally."

A comparison of the penalties under the two liquor laws is instructive. The Transvaal law is brief, and appears to be a very harsh and severe penalty, "not exceeding £500, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, not exceeding one year." Why such a heavy fine? Of course, the conditions of the two countries must be taken into consideration. Natal took up the native liquor question twenty-two years ago, while the Colony was still young, and the Transvaal have only just passed their native liquor law less than three years ago. The result is that the question has never assumed the same proportions in Natal as it has in Johannesburg. The Transvaal Government did not legislate until the evil had grown so great that life and property were endangered by a riotous and drunken crowd of natives. Then they took it up, and as an almost hopeless case they applied strong measures to try to remedy it. Hence the severe fine, "not exceeding £500." To encourage information given with respect to any breach of this law, by Article 56, "the Government shall be

at liberty to grant a portion, but not more than one-third, of the fine inflicted and paid, to the informer." But the fine is so excessive that it is better to bribe one or two "badly paid officials" in your district, and carry on the illicit traffic under their protection. You can well afford to give from £20 to £30 a month for this protection, for the native pays one shilling a glass for stuff which will not cost the dealer much more than a penny wholesale, or for a bottle of "smoke," which costs about one shilling and sixpence, he gets as much as £1 from the native. The demand for liquor is great, the sellers few, and the profits enormous, therefore it pays to run risks, after you have "squared" the officials of your district. This is the result of a heavy fine. If the fine was £100, we should probably hear of more convictions, and not so much bribery. Of course, no laws can be effective if the officials appointed for their observance are open to receive bribes.

A "native," under the Natal Law, "shall mean any person belonging to, or being a descendant of, any native tribes of South Africa, commonly called Kaffirs." Therefore, in Natal, the law is prohibitive for natives only, not "coloured persons," as it is in the Transvaal State. In Natal an Indian or other 'coloured person" is not included in this law.

CHIEF, WITH SOME OF HIS WIVES AND CHILDREN.

III.—THE NATIVE MARRIAGE LAWS.

THINK what it would mean to our social life in England if we were a conquered nation, and the conquerors were to say, "all your laws and customs are abrogated; your property can be held 'under certain conditions'; your marriage laws and customs are of no consequence to us, you may follow or leave them as you please, but we do not undertake to support them; you may live like cattle if you wish. We cannot recognise your marriage laws as binding, nor yet will we legalise any form of marriage among you." Such is in effect the present position of the native races in the Transvaal.

I occasionally spent my holidays in Johannesburg, and assisted the Vicar, during which time I could not take any white man's marriage, for I was not a marriage officer licensed by the Transvaal State, but I could take any native marriages,

as that State took no cognisance of them. A native may marry, and any time after leave his wife, but the woman would have no legal claim on him. He could marry again as soon as he pleased, and he could not be proceeded against either for support of his first wife, or for bigamy. And so he might go on as long as he wished to marry or could get anyone to marry him. The same is applicable to all persons of colour, even if only slightly coloured—half-castes of three or four generations if the colour is at all apparent. All licenses for the marriage of white people must be applied for personally, and signed in the presence of the Landdrost, who is very cautious, lest half-castes or persons of colour should get one. Colour is evidently the only test of unfitness to claim recognition of the marriage contract by the Transvaal State.

The injustice of such a law must be very apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to consider the matter. It places a premium on vice. It gives an excuse to any "person of colour" to commit the most heinous offences against the laws of morality and social order, and protects such an one from the legal consequence which would necessarily follow in any other civilised State.

I do not wish to dilate on the unsavoury subject

of the immorality amongst the "coloured people" in such towns as Johannesburg, for anything short of a brutal rape is outside the cognisance of law. The Banyan or Indian coolie, the Chinaman or the Turk, the disreputable European or the Cape boy, take women of the African native race, and keep them as long as it suits them. One day you will see a woman living with a Cape boy, and soon after you will find her living with a Banyan trader, or with a Chinaman or disreputable European.

To what does this state of affairs tend to? What becomes of those children who are neither Asiatic, European nor African? Their foster-fathers are at one time Asiatic, at another time European or African.

In Johannesburg I sometimes went to the day school in connection with St. Cyprian's Church. The school is for half-caste children and poor whites. I was greatly struck with the various kind of features amongst the half-caste children. I remember one girl who looked about ten years of age, but probably was only eight, with short, curly hair like a native, but features unmistakably Chinese. She was very intelligent, and after I had finished giving the lesson I asked her where she lived, and she told me. The place where she lived was an Indian trader's shop, and her foster-

father was a Bombay Indian. I spoke to him at the shop door, and told him how intelligent his girl was. He replied in broken English, "Not my girl, Chinaman's girl, Chinaman gone away, I take Kaffir woman and pickaninny. I go Bombay next year, my friend come here from Bombay."

"Are you coming back again?" I asked.

"Perhaps, by-and-by, perhaps no."

"Then who will look after your wife when you are in Bombay?"

"She be my friend's wife," was his reply.

Comment upon such a state of affairs is needless, except to point out a remedy.

The Morality Law was passed to prohibit immorality and the keeping of immoral houses. Soon after the passing of this law, raids were made on such houses, and a general exodus of "the social pest" took place. Syndicates for importing and "setting up in business" these unfortunate people collapsed, and the Johannesburg streets at night assumed a different appearance. Few, except those in league with the officials, were able —by paying the officials monthly gratuities—to carry on their nefarious and illicit traffic.

If such a Morality Law was necessary for the improvement of the white residents, why not apply a similar measure to meet the requirements of the

coloured races in the Transvaal? Personally, I cannot see why the law should discountenance immorality amongst the whites, and, through laxity, encourage it amongst the "coloured people." What is required is (1) that the civil marriage officer may legally marry any natives who desire it, under the same legal conditions as white people. The Christian native would, of course, always be married in this way if it were legally permissible. (2) That also marriage by native custom must be upheld, at least for the present generation.

It is a very grave matter to interfere with the social laws of a nation or people. To break down and not build up has been the policy of the Transvaal in this matter, but when our turn comes, do not let us make the same mistake.

From the chaos which exists for want of social law and order, let us try to build up a native race who will be orderly and moral. If their position in this world is only that of "hewers of wood and drawers of water," let us, at any rate, have respectable ones.

IV.—NATIVE LABOUR. (1).—HOW PROCURED.

NATIVES are drawn from all parts of South Africa and from Portuguese East Africa.

How these natives are procured for work on the mines will be shown in this article.

There are few or no responsible agents appointed for this work. The Chamber of Mines, Association of Mines, and a group of mines, have appointed accredited labour agents, who are responsible to them, but these do not by any means meet the demand for labourers for all the mines, but for their group only. Unaccredited agents, "free lances," swarm over all parts of the country and on the East Coast, where they are the cause of much vice and unrest amongst the natives. They generally take up their abode at some canteen, making that the centre from which they work, sending out native runners in every direction to bring any who are willing to go to the gold-fields.

Here they are "stimulated" by means of Delagoa Bay rum, and all sorts of advantages are offered to the native to induce him to go to the Rand. He is promised a good "baas" who will give him plenty to drink and fresh beef every day, besides £4 a month wages. When a sufficient number have promised, he goes off with them, and proceeds towards his destination. First of all he does not wish to pay the fee the Portuguese demand for all natives going out of the country to the Transvaal, so he has to arrange to "run" them across the border by night, or take some circuitous route during the day, and so evade the border police. The labour agent saves about 12*s.* each man by this, but the unfortunate native has to pay it, and a fine as well, on his return home to Portuguese territory at some future date.

Having evaded the Portuguese police, the agent proceeds with them to the nearest railway station, where they are booked for Johannesburg, or some other mining centre, taking passes for them as early as possible. I have frequently seen large numbers of natives turned out of the train by the police at Machadodorp for being without a pass, and marched off to "tronk." The labour agent has eventually paid, for he cannot afford to lose the natives for want of a pass, but they suffer many

privations on the way from their homes to the mines. Having arrived in Johannesburg, being an unaccredited agent, that is, not engaging labour for any particular mine, or group of mines, he goes from mine to mine, asking for the highest bidder for them. Some of them may offer £3 per head, others more. He, of course, sells them to the highest bidder, notwithstanding his promise to the native to find him a good "baas," and plenty to eat and drink. I know of cases where the accredited labour agent himself has not been able to take them to the station, and has sent them in charge of a native "induna," who acts as his representative to hand over the "boys" to the other accredited agent at the frontier railway station to have their necessary passes taken, and to be forwarded by train to Johannesburg. They have been intercepted by an unaccredited agent before they have reached the frontier, the native "induna" has been bribed by a gift of £10, which he has spent at the nearest canteen in getting helplessly drunk for a week or so, the "boys" have had a glass or two of gin given to each, and then walked off by another route to escape the accredited labour agent at the frontier, and the Portuguese border police. Two or three stations up the line they take the train and proceed to their destination to sell the

"boys" to the mine which offers him the most for his trouble.

It may be asked for what reason do the Government not appoint or recognise accredited labour agents?

The answer is simple. We must not prohibit any of the burghers to supply this native labour if they wish. If we allow none other but accredited agents, the burghers will not be permitted to engage in it as "free lances."

Besides, the Superintendents of the Native Locations (who are Transvaal officials) make a considerable sum every year out of it. Of course, unofficially. They have practically the monopoly of the native Reserves in the Transvaal, and they jealously guard it. There are too many good pickings to be made out of this, that accredited agents by the Government or Chamber of Mines would be opposed by all the officials and their friends. Thus does Boer officialdom prevent the introduction of any scheme which would tend to the improvement of the labour supply. To keep it as much as possible in their own hands is their object, and to prevent its coming in from other sources, such as Portuguese East Africa, is their aim, so that the labour market shall not be over supplied.

EAST COAST NATIVES ON THEIR WAY TO THE LABOUR CENTRE.

(2).—HOW THE PASS LAW WORKS.

EXTRACTS from this Pass Law would, perhaps, prove instructive reading, and would give some sort of an idea of the legitimacy of the native objections to work at mining centres.

Article 4 asserts that "the word 'native'" as used in these regulations shall be considered to be applicable to all male coloured persons, or coloured tribes of South Africa.

Article 5 provides that "the native will be obliged before he enters the service of any employer to proceed to the office of the Mining Commissioner or pass official appointed for the district, and there exchange his travelling pass for a district pass.

Article 7 provides "besides the district pass, the pass official shall moreover issue to each native a metal badge or mark, upon which when issued

shall clearly be stamped or impressed the register number of the native, the initial letter of the labour district's name, and the year it was issued. "This badge or mark shall be buckled to a strong leather strap and must be worn by the native on the left arm above the elbow, so that it is always visible."

Article 8.—The "said district pass and metal badge issued to the native shall put him in a position, and authorise him to look for work within the labour district where these have been issued *during a period of three days from the date of issue.*"

Article 9.—"If a native fails to find work within the prescribed period of three days from the date of issue of the district pass or after dismissal by his last employer, he shall return to the Mining Commissioner or pass official who issued the pass and badge, and *he will then be allowed another three days*, which must be noted in the said pass by the pass officer, *against the payment of two shillings.* If he does not find work within these said three days he shall return to the pass officer, and the pass officer or officers entrusted with the administration of these regulations shall *be competent to demand the district pass and badge* from the said native which has been issued by him, and *to issue to him in place thereof a travelling pass* in terms

of Articles 8 and 9, and *the native shall proceed to another labour district, or return to his place of abode.*"

The italics are mine. They show the manifest injustice to a native who has been brought probably 400 or 500 miles to the labour market. If he is unable to find an employer within three days he must go to the Pass Office and get a further renewal of three days. How much of the latter three days is expended in getting the necessary permission? Natives have to wait hours and sometimes days to get this permission. I have seen the street in which the Pass Office is situated in Johannesburg, crowded with natives waiting to renew their passes, and many of them had to go away without them being renewed that day to make a similar attempt the day following. "Insufficiency of staff" is not much of a plea for the officials to make when the liberty of any man is imperilled.

If the native does not succeed in finding suitable employment during these latter three days, he must leave that labour district for another, or else go home!

How considerate of the Transvaal Government to allow six days in all (part of which time has been spent in trying to get the necessary per-

mission) to a native who has come probably 400 or 500 miles. This excess of paternal care for their welfare takes a great deal to beat.

Why should they always take it for granted that every native is a born criminal, and that any one more than six days in search of employment is not a fit and proper person to reside in any labour district? Why should a native have to return home by foot 400 or 500 miles because he has failed to get employment in six days? or failing to go home, why should he be regarded as a vagrant and punished as if he were a criminal?

I do not say that it frequently happens, because natives take any kind of work, for any master, at any rate of wages, rather than submit to this, but it is a crying shame that they should be compelled to.

This law is supposed to hinder native vagrancy. But do native vagrants exist to any extent in the Mining Centres? They cannot for many reasons. Food supplies are dear. Liquor is prohibited, so that there is nothing to induce him to loaf round canteens. The Native Compounds in which they reside are under the direct control of each mine, which has its Compound Managers and police to keep order in them.

Besides Mining Centres are not congenial to men of the vagrant stamp, they have a preference

for the freedom of the kraal to that of the supervision of the Boer police.

What is wanted is more freedom from pass law, and better police supervision.

Can it be at all wondered at that the natives believe the Boer officials look upon them as legitimate prey to rob, plunder, or imprison, and that the pass law is simply a system to screen their conduct and give it an appearance of legitimacy!

The unfortunate attitude the Transvaal Government takes towards the native is fatal to there being any great amount of native labour supply on the market. The demand of the Mining Industry for more labourers will never meet with the supply until the Transvaal Government is made to see that the so-called modifying of the pass law is not the way to cure the native grievance, or to establish any confidence amongst them. This system which stinks so in the nostrils of the natives can only be modified by its utter destruction.

JAIL, NOW FORTIFIED FOR DEFENCE OF JOHANNESBURG.

(3).—CONDITION OF NATIVE COMPOUNDS.

IT can scarcely be said by any upholder (if any such really exist) of the present system of Native Compounds on the Mines, that it is at all the best means of housing natives.

Most Compound Managers will agree that the present system is only a temporary expedient, and before long a better system will have to be arranged if the Mining Industry has to be supplied with settled labour. The Compound system of huddling hundreds of natives in tin shanties is the very opposite to the free life which they have been living before coming to the Mines. Speaking to them on this subject they have said they did not object to the work in Johannesburg, but to the way they were housed there. The Rand Mining is a settled Industry, for it is computed that for a great number of years the employment will be regular and settled. If the Rand, then, is a

settled Industry we must have the conditions of the labour market settled, and also the conditions of living. We cannot expect natives to give up their homes and families for any length of time to work on the Mines. They love their homes, and they suffer from homesickness as much as or probably more than most white people. The reason so many leave their work after six months is that they are constantly longing to see their wives and children. Many times have they said to me, "Johannesburg would be all right if only we could have our wives and families with us." The question for the Mining Industry is, "How to obtain cheaper and more settled labour?"

What is the result of Compound life? Morally the worst possible! They are the hotbeds of vice and iniquity. Anyone knowing the system under which they live knows it to be shocking. Do not many missionaries oppose their people going to the Rand on account of the immoral habits acquired? But can we expect anything else from the unnatural state of affairs on a Compound, where men—some of them in very little better condition than animals as regards their morals—are living under unnatural conditions?

We must treat the native, not as a machine to work when required under any conditions, but as a

raw son of nature, very often without any moral force to control him and to raise him much above the lower animal world in his passions, except that which native custom has given him. Unless the conditions under which they now exist are altered to those more in accordance with their habits and natural condition of living, we cannot expect to have a better supply of permanent labourers or a "betterment" of their moral condition on the Rand.

The plan which I am about to suggest as a cure is one which for some time has been my firm belief will be the only way to better the native, and, at the same time, the condition of permanent labour supply on the Rand.

Let native reserves or locations be established on the separate mines, or group of mines, where the natives can have their huts built, and live more or less under the same conditions as they do in their native kraals. If a native found that he could live on the Rand under similar conditions to those he has been accustomed to, he will soon be anxious to save enough money to bring his wife and children there, and remain in the labour district for a much longer period than at present is the case.

It would be a distinct gain to the Mining Industry as well as to the native.

(1) The mines would not have to pay such heavy premiums, year by year, for the supply of native labour to the labour agents, as the labour would be more permanent.

(2) It would be conducive to a healthier state of things among the native labourers, and so improve the man as a productive labourer.

(3) It would give the natives less reason for going home after six or twelve months' work (just when they are beginning to get useful on the mines) and would give a stimulus to them to become settlers, and productive labourers in the industry.

The first of these reasons in itself is sufficient to warrant the formation of native locations. The immense sum spent every year for the *supply* of labour is a great incubus on the Mining Industry. It costs £3 to £6 to the mines for each native brought to its gates. A native may remain for six months or a year, and then he wishes to go back to his kraal. He has saved probably from £10 to £30, for his wages have been £3 to £4 a month. If you should ask him why he wants to go home then and not stay longer, he will usually answer "Johannesburg is no good," by which he means not Johannesburg itself, nor the climate, nor the work, but what goes to make up Johannesburg to him,

the Native Compound and the Boer police. The Native Compound, when he has done his work, is the *safest* place for him, even though not morally elevating. To cross the threshold of the Compound and go into God's fair world, as the native knows it at his kraal, is to tempt the Boer police to acts of injustice or brutality. The houses, or rather shanties, of the Compound are built of corrugated iron, extremely hot during the day, in fact, often unbearable, and contrasts greatly with the cool huts of their kraals. Can it be then wondered at, that apart from the question of cleanliness, the native prefers living in his own kind of hut, to that of a corrugated iron shanty? Huts could be erected on a mine, or group of mines, at a very small cost, and I am sure that the natives would be quite willing to pay a monthly rent if they were suitably housed. Their huts, of course, would be the property of the mines, built on ground belonging to the mines, and under the supervision of the mines, much as our miners' houses are in some of our colliery districts. It would be impossible for me to enter into details of a system like this, in the midst of the chaotic state of native law in the Transvaal. May we not hope that the better day will soon come, when Boerdom will be ended? I tremble to think of the consequences which would follow if a location

system was established under the present Pretorian régime, which would not grant to natives the most elementary rights of men, protection for person and property.

The danger attending a location system for married natives would be very great, unless there was adequate protection for person and property. Property in this case would mean his wife and children especially. An efficient administration is an essential thing, and laws based on Law No. 19, 1891, of the Colony of Natal, or some similar law to regulate native affairs in the locations is indispensable.

With good laws and an effective police there would be nothing to fear with respect to the morality of such locations. The thing to be dreaded is a native location under chaotic administration.

Much might be done to make the natives of South Africa an industrious race of people by using wisely and well the opportunities which the Mining Industry affords. As Englishmen it is our pride to encourage progress in the civilising arts in our colonies and dependencies, amongst our subjects, coloured or white.

INHAMBANE.

(4).—WHERE NATIVE LABOUR COMES FROM.

NATIVES are drawn from all parts of South Africa, Cape Colony, Natal, Zululand, Swaziland, the Free State, Transvaal, and Matabeleland.

The Portuguese territory on the East Coast supplies a very large number. Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, Beira, and Chinde are the chief centres for the East Coast boys. All of them pass through Delagoa Bay, and consequently it makes this port a large centre for natives.

Large numbers every day pass to and from Johannesburg and the Mining Centres. The Portuguese territory is thickly populated with natives of various tribes driven there, or who emigrated there, during the troublesome times of Chaka, chief of the Zulus. Also later the Boer incursion into the Transvaal and the many succeeding raids made by them on the natives have done

much to cause from time to time considerable migrations into Portuguese territory. Formerly as refugees from the tyranny of a native chief many sought the rich lands of the high veldt under a chief more humane, and after settling there for some time they were driven out by the Boer incursion and raids from a healthy country to the swamps and sands of the low veldt.

The Portuguese East Africa is not so healthy nor so fertile as the Transvaal. Malarial fever is very prevalent, and on account of the poverty and dryness of the soil, which in appearance is just like sand, the natives in time of the least drought are often in a starving condition, through failure of their crops. The appearance of the soil to an ordinary European would lead him to believe that nothing could possibly grow in it, yet it is very surprising how the natives do produce from it pumpkins, melons, sweet potatoes, beans, bananas, mealies, etc., if they get the rain in its season. The uncertainty of the food crops is, of course, a great incentive to the natives to offer themselves for work, and the rate of wages offered in the labour market is a great attraction.

In the southern portion of Portuguese East Africa, the paramount Chief Gungunhana of Gazaland, a descendant of Chaka, three years ago was

captured by General Albuquerque, and taken as a prisoner to Portugal. It has done a great deal towards opening out the country, and Portuguese rule is becoming more established every year.

This ought to tend to make it easier for natives to leave their country and offer themselves for work. Some sort of an agreement between the two Governments is necessary as a safeguard to the native's welfare on the Rand, and a protection from official wrong and robbery on their way home which is only too prevalent at present. I believe that the Portuguese authorities would enter into any reasonable arrangement with another responsible Government.

Delagoa Bay is a port of easy access and egress, and has frequent communications with the Limpopo, Inhambane, Beira, and all the ports on the East Coast. The railway facilities for passengers are good. Twice daily trains leave for Pretoria, from which place you can get anywhere on the South African railway system, including all the labour centres.

The town of Lourenço Marques engages a large number of natives for discharging vessels, wharf, customs, railway, and warehouse work. The stores, hotels and private houses also engage a great number, and on account of the demand for

labourers on the Rand, high wages prevail, and often labourers are very scarce.

From Inhambane also hundreds of natives are sent every month to the labour centres. The surrounding country is thickly populated. The Inhambane native is easily distinguished from all others, chiefly by his head dress. They shave their heads in patterns, small tufts of curly hair stand up in semi-circular, oblong, and similar designs. On the mines they are most useful in the underground work and are much sought after by Mine Managers. Some natives object to underground work, but the East Coast Native has no objection to it. He is therefore invaluable to the Mines. It can easily be understood why the Mines undertake to pay such large sums for boys from the East Coast. A native from Inhambane would cost over £3 for his passage and railway fare, besides his food on the journey, and £1 at least to the labour Agent. This is the minimum, without the Transvaal charges which vary, and the Transvaal passes. If they are landed at Johannesburg for £5 each it is considered to be cheap. Every one of the Inhambane boys costs this at least, and when you consider that thousands go year by year you will be able to understand something of the initial cost simply to supply native

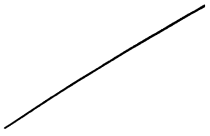
labour for the Mines. It is in the district between Delagoa Bay and Inhambane that so many unaccredited native labour agents carry on their work.

It is a part of the country not at all well policed and a happy hunting ground for some of these agents. No prohibitive liquor law is in existence in these parts, or any part of the Portuguese possessions. Vinho a sort of Portuguese claret is cheap, and is allowed into the country as a Portuguese product without any custom duty, and can be sold by anyone without a license. £1 will go a long way to provide drink for a large number of people, and as the vinho of the Canteen is an attraction to the native and a source of income to the Canteen keeper, the agent finds it pays best to locate himself there, and the keeper to encourage him. It requires no great power of perception to understand the moral result of such drunken gangs of men and frequently women loafing about and quarrelling. Serious disturbances often occur, and it cannot cause surprise to occasionally find the agent in the hands of the police. It seems such a pity that one of the best centres for procuring native labour should be so utterly deficient in accredited labour organisation. Thousands of natives could be procured from this part if only

there was a proper organisation for that purpose. The seriousness of the situation demands it.

The districts round about Beira, Chinde, and Quilimane have been partly worked, but with very little result in proportion to the number of natives available. I have asked some of the labour agents about the smallness of the number of natives from these parts, and they say it is the bad repute of Johannesburg. Natives who have gone up to the Rand have come back with tales of oppression and injustice; thus the chiefs do not encourage "boys" to go there. I thought probably that the great distance was the impediment, but they assured me it was not so.

We can only hope for better times, and a more humane Government for the natives, to wipe out the wrong that has been done to both black and white under a bastard civilisation which has prevailed in Pretoria for the past fifteen years.



POINT REUBEN, DELAGOA BAY.

CONCLUSION.

JUDGING the native question from the points which I have presented there is a great need of immediate reform. The question affects thousands of natives, not only natives who are subjects of the Transvaal, but those who go there to work in the mining industry.

It is not difficult to foresee that the present state of things is detrimental to the growth of any moral development of those races. Their growth is retarded, not because they are incapable of any great amount of intellectual and moral development, but simply because they are "persons of colour." What grand opportunities are missed which will perhaps never occur again to the lot of that State, to build up the social well-being of such a large number of their subjects, to teach them that work is not degrading but elevating, that their social condition can be bettered by it, that

work is a grand discipline for them, to raise them from a life of sloth and indolence to that of action and productiveness. It is the psychological moment, which, if once missed, can never be expected to return. What vast opportunities the Transvaal Government are losing to help to find a solution of one of the most difficult problems in their State. To have placed every inducement in the way of the native to offer himself for work on the mines, to have removed anything that hindered them from coming, to have seen to their welfare while there by wise and just legislation, to have allowed them some liberty to move about without innumerable restrictions, these and many others are the means a good Government would have adopted.

Instead of this they are not permitted to move about at all except under an intricate pass law system, their condition on the Rand is a matter of supreme indifference, and as to placing any inducement in the way to facilitate the native labour supply, they rather hinder it.

In 1896 a scheme for appointing accredited agents to provide native labour for the mines was submitted to the Executive. It was to prohibit the crowd of unaccredited agents from overrunning the native locations, whence a great deal of the labour is supplied, and also to build houses at

various distances on the way to and from the mines where the natives could be supplied with food and be allowed to sleep at nights. It would have been of great benefit to the natives, but it was so bitterly opposed that the Executive would not entertain it. The reason why it was suggested to build houses, or "stations" as they were called, was because the natives frequently complained of being robbed by the Boers on their way from the gold fields to their homes. Each station would have been under the superintendence of an accredited agent, who would have looked after the interests of the natives passing to and fro, and would also have been a station for the engaging of labour. This plan, of course, refers to the natives coming from any part of the Transvaal and the adjoining part of the Portuguese territory where the railway does not exist, in most cases more than a week's journey on foot.

Such a scheme is very desirable, and one might say quite necessary from a native's point of view, that is :—

(1) The appointment of accredited agents for engaging native labour ;

(2) An arrangement for the protection and shelter of the native going to and from the centres of work.

The pass system demands immediate alteration,

in fact, abolition. It is at present worse than any conditions under which slavery exists.

Brand a slave, and then you have put him to a certain amount of physical pain for once, but penalties under the pass law system mean lashes innumerable at the direction of any Boer Field Cornet or Landdrost. It is a most barbarous system, as brutal as it is criminal-making, alone worthy of a Boer, with an exaggerated fear of and cowardly brutality towards a race he has been assisted to conquer. An oppression as needlessly unjust as it is unnecessary!

An efficient police force is all that is necessary to keep due order and respect for laws. I cannot call the police organisation of the Transvaal efficient, although the police in and around the larger towns of Pretoria and Johannesburg are in strong force; but their anxiety to examine the pass of every native they meet would make one think that their sole duty was to examine passes. It is certainly under the present conditions the most lucrative part of their work. In the place of the pass law let the natives have an efficient police supervision, and it will soon be proved that the average native is as well conducted and as law abiding as the average white man.

A scheme to assist voluntary schools in the work

of educating the native races is very desirable. They are as a class—specially those who have been in contact much with civilised life, as on the mines, or in large towns—anxious to be educated. It is beyond the reach of ordinary voluntary bodies to effectually and efficiently do the work without being assisted by grants from the Government.

At one night school I know of in Johannesburg where the natives attend in large numbers the school fee is one shilling per month, but the pass to be allowed out after nine o'clock at night also costs one shilling per month. This is the way the Government "assists" evening class scholars who are anxious to be educated. The native who desires to be educated is taxed a shilling per month. Is this the way to make education attractive to him? Under such conditions it is surprising that so many go to evening classes. Education *without some moral teaching* would not be of any real use in building up a high tone of character amongst them, and for this reason I would suggest that the voluntary religious bodies should be assisted by grants from the Government to augment their staff and provide efficient teachers. As to the syllabus of subjects taught, Christian morality should be one of the daily subjects, the teaching of which should be left to each voluntary

body to treat in their own way. There is very little difference between the two extremes in teaching the elements of Christian morality, that the subject could safely be left to be treated by each voluntary body in its own way. Where we have such large number of heathen to deal with it is better to look to the ground of our common agreements than to our differences, and in the elementary principles of Christian morality, such as we need for our primary schools, we have a common basis. England is a nursery for shibboleths, political and religious. In the mission field we learn how to sink these, and yet not cease to become less patriotic, or the less truer sons of our Church.

Not much beyond what is commonly called the three R's would be necessary. Reading and writing are the favourite subjects; they never seem to tire of working at these. On the other hand, arithmetic presents to them the greatest difficulty. Very few of them seem to possess the gifts necessary to become mathematicians.

The question of technical education for the native is one presenting more difficulties, and to which there is a large amount of opposition from our artizan class, who think they see that the practical result of such a scheme would mean competition

in the labour market. I do not think the technical education they would receive would interfere with the artizan class. The natives I know are such as have received their training in Natal, and have come back to Delagoa Bay, where they use their knowledge amongst their own people, although they can compete if they like in Delagoa Bay with Indians, Chinamen, and Portuguese. All work, except of the roughest kind, is done by European workmen, if a sufficient number can be secured on the place, or from Johannesburg.

On the other hand, technical education assists them to improve their own native industries of which there are several on the South-East Coast of Africa. It also teaches them how to improve their dwellings, and their kraal arrangements. Those who know anything of the natives who live round the towns can see a steady demand for this kind of workman. It does not pay a white man to do it, and if it did very few white men would work for a black, so it always falls to the lot of a native mechanic.

The Rand ought to be the centre of a great civilising power which will extend its influence all over Africa, South of the Zambesi. What London and Paris is to the civilised world, so is Johannesburg to the South African native. How anxious

we ought to be to use the grand opportunity to find a solution for the native question; rather should I say, that if we use our opportunities to Christianise and civilise them, the question will find its own peaceful solution.

Of three of the subjects I have treated I only wish briefly to offer some practical suggestions First as to the necessity—among all conditions of men—of marriage laws. We cannot conceive any race of men living utterly devoid of these laws. In the Transvaal any persons of colour marry after their own custom, but the marriage is not recognised by the Law. What we want is that all "persons of colour" shall be able to perform their civil contract in the presence of a marriage officer, and that such marriages shall be held legal marriages. For the natives in particular who desire to marry according to native custom a law is needed such as is in force in Natal (Law No. 19, 1891). If a Christian native wishes to be married by Christian rites, why should he not be permitted to do so? It is no imaginary grievance, this unjust and barbaric treatment. It is the treatment we might have expected from a nation of barbarians, but not from a nation that professes to follow the humane laws of the Teacher of Nazareth.

The laws relating to fixed property require

amending, so that a native may be allowed to acquire it by purchase in his own right.

At present if a native wishes to live outside the reserves he must find a farm where not more than five native families are located. He must get permission from the owner of the farm to settle there. Then he is bound to give two months' service, free of charge, every year, and provide his own food. Any member of his family, of working age, must likewise give his or her services free for two months each year. This is supposed to be in lieu of rent. The penalty of any breach of the law by the Boer farmer, such as allowing more than five families to reside on his farm, would not necessarily fall upon the last comer, but upon any one or more of the families the Boer wished to turn off his land. The Boer farmer owns 6,000 acres of land, and only cultivates 20 or 30 acres. Why should not a native be permitted to purchase any portion of the ground, freehold, and be freed from the servitude of such a law?

Many natives are now earning and saving large sums of money, year by year, at the various labour centres. They return home with every intention of following a peaceful life; why should they not be encouraged to put their money into land, and follow the "peaceful pursuits" as well as any Boer

farmer? They are capable of doing it. Besides, if they held fixed property in the State, it would be to their advantage to maintain law and order, when they had every thing they possessed at stake. With no interest in the land, the tendency must always be to a nomadic life. The alteration of this law would have a very beneficent effect upon the native.

They are as thoroughly well capable of becoming true, peaceful and loyal citizens of the State as are any other race of people. Their instincts and training are all towards law and order. Their lives have been disciplined under native rule, and now that the white man is breaking up that rule, what is he going to give as a substitute? Anarchy and lawlessness, or good government which tends to peace and prosperity?

It is madness to hope that the rule which now holds down the native races can last for long; nor can it tend to the prosperity of those who are held down by it. It is the cause of much unrest, and the time must come when this will assume greater dimensions. The Government which holds down such a large number of its subjects, and keeps them in check by treating them as cut-throats and outlaws, will one day repent bitterly of its sin of misrule.

The tide of civilisation is flowing in, and extending all over the country. Every part of South Africa is affected by it. It is flowing steadily and surely into the kraal life of the South-African native. Scarcely any hut exists which does not bear some impress of it. Native customs are becoming obsolete amongst natives living in or near the towns, the habits of the white man are imitated, his manner, dress, and style of living is discussed in every kraal, miles away from the centre of civilisation. Birmingham jewellery is displayed, and Manchester cotton goods are worn. The rights and wrongs of the English and the Transvaal are eagerly debated. The husband or son has just arrived from the mines, and the latest news soon becomes the property of the kraal and the adjoining ones.

What effect has this upon the native? It is an education to him. We are not always ready to recognise the influence of the new and strange things around us, but the difference between a native who has rarely been in contact with civilisation and one who has often is very marked. We cannot help educating them in this way, it is the natural outcome of our contact with them. To educate them means to make them dissatisfied with their condition. True, but this need not

cause us any fear, so long as we bring to bear our civilising and elevating influences, in the shape of good examples and humane treatment.

Educate them we must by our every day contact with them, without reckoning the book learning or technical instruction they may receive at school. Any sort of education means development, and the more we develop their better instincts the better it will be for both them and us; and as we have learned by our own experience so may we act.

It was from a similar position that England arose from serfdom to be what she is now. The process was slow but sure, and having once broken off the shackles of serfdom her progress was assured, and under her benign laws we now stand at the head of all civilised powers. As she has received so does she endeavour to give, having once felt the yoke herself the more anxious she is that the least of her daughters shall not be under it. With the tenderness of a nursing mother does she foster her dependencies and subjects. To encourage all things that tend to make for the greatness, prosperity, and welfare of her colonies and dependencies, to improve and elevate the condition of her subjects, are her great aim and ambition. May she long retain her position

in the world as the most beneficent, humane, and civilising power the world has ever seen! The justice of her cause in the present strife will be her shield. The God who has called her to fulfil so high a destiny, to spread her humanising influence in all parts of the world, will give her strength and courage to fulfil it.

Her best sons have gone forth to shed their blood for this noble purpose, well knowing that the path of duty needs much self-sacrifice and often leads to death. The noble example of undying devotion, love, and self-sacrifice for whatsoever is good, noble, and true, so truly displayed in the Incarnate life of Christ is the admiration and inspiration of her sons.

But the mourning of England for her lost sons is not that of an ignoble and selfish lamentation of "Ah, my son!" or "ah, his glory!" but of the nobler inspiration born of love and devotion for a cause that is just and righteous—the cause of a man who is unjustly oppressed by his fellow—the mourning of a noble mother, who although the sacrifice "pierces her own soul," rises above it, trusting in the justice of her cause, and the God who hates oppression and injustice.

May the sons of Britain always be worthy of their high destiny to spread over the whole earth

the true bonds of mankind, liberty, equality, and brotherhood; the true outcome and realisation of the Incarnate life!

READY SHORTLY.

DELAGOA BAY,

ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND PROSPECTIVE FUTURE

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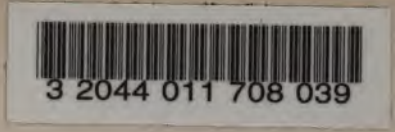
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